

THE BLACK PANTHER

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
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SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

FREE THE NY 21 AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS





JUNE 6 ONLY LOS ANGELES

EUROPA THEATRE

LA BREA & BEVERLY BLVD. L.A.
4:00 p.m. \$3.00

ROYCE HALL DONATION
U.C.L.A. CAMPUS LOS ANGELES
8:00 p.m.

PREMIERE SHOWINGS IN AMERICA
OF THE MOTION PICTURE



JUNE 7 ONLY S.F. OAKLAND BAY AREA

MARTIN LUTHER KING
SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

GRANT & ROSE ST.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

1:00 p.m. 3:30 p.m. 6:00 p.m. 8:30 p.m.

SURF THEATRE
46th and IRVING
SAN FRANCISCO

11:00 a.m.

\$3.00 DONATION

THE STORY OF A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION

The film "Z" is based on a true incident in Greece. For the usual, obvious reasons, the film was shot elsewhere (Algeria) and the country is superficially un-identifiable.

The subject, briefly, is the story of a certain Lambakis, played by Yves Montand, an "agitator" against the installation of capitalist military bases in his country who, with the complicity of the power structure, is assassinated. The one man, the Prosecuting Attorney, who seeks the truth, is menaced and constantly threatened, but by his own teeth and hair, survives.

The film was done by: Costa Gavras, a Greek refugee whose parents have been persecuted since the Second World War for their leftist activities. He lives in France, is married to Michele Reye, the journalist who did the Ramparts story on Guevara's death and was captured (????) by the Viet Cong.

The actors include Irene Papas, Greece's greatest actress, who has voluntarily exiled herself. Also, Yves Montand (always politically affiliated as well as his wife Simons Signoret).

The script, based on a novel, is by Jorge Semprun and Gavras. Semprun is a Spanish refugee who also wrote "La Guerre est Fini" which Resnais did.

The cinematographer is Raoul Coutard, himself a celebrity due above all to Godard. The music is by MIKOS THEODORAKIS, who did "Zorba the Greek" and is still imprisoned on a Greek island as a subversive. One can be prosecuted today in Greece for merely playing his records.

The story -- a denunciation of the indus-



LE JUGE D'INSTRUCTION



JEAN-Louis TRINTIGNANT



YVES MONTAND



IRENE PAPAS

GREECE'S
GREATEST ACTRESS

IN
VOLUNTARY EXILE

- Story of a political assassination.
- Best political film since the Battle of Algiers.

SUNDAY

SHOWING ALSO

11:00 a.m. ONLY

SURF THEATRE

46th and IRVING STs.

S.F.

CHARLES DENNER, GEORGES GERET, JACQUES PERRIN

FRANÇOIS PERIER, BERNARD FRESSON, PIERRE DUX

JULIEN GIOMAR, MARCEL BOZZUFI, MAGALI NOEL

RENATO SALVATORI

JOHN BROWN, JOHN PETER BROWN, ROBERT BROWN
ROBERT BROWN, JOHN BROWN, ALICE C. BROWN
CHARLES BROWN, JOHN BROWN, ROBERT
CHARLES BROWN, JOHN PETER BROWN, ROBERT BROWN,
ROBERT BROWN, JOHN PETER BROWN, ROBERT BROWN



THE CIA AS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

President Nixon has made a surprising alliance with certain forces of black militancy. This may seem audacious, even dangerous, like playing with the fires of a revolutionary black consciousness. But it is actually a time - tested technique.

Q. BLACK POWER COMES TO WASHINGTON

Black Power has come a long way since that night in 1966 when Stokely Carmichael made it the battle cry of the Mississippi March Against Fear. For a time it was a slogan that struck dread into the heart of white America — an indication that the aims of the black man's demands had been raised to a point where the white society would have to be reoriented if they were to be met. But Black Power hardly seems a revolutionary slogan today. It has been refined and domesticated, accorded a prominent niche in the American Dream. And Carmichael's statement of a few years ago, that the President of the United States might say "We shall overcome" over national television but would never call for Black Power, has also been disproven — by Richard Nixon, seemingly the most audacity of men. The country needs "more black ownership," Nixon said during his campaign, "for from this can flow the next black pride, black jobs, and yes, black Power."

It is certain that the Nixon Administration has made some crucial decisions concerning the possibilities of Black Power during its short time in office. With great fanfare it unveiled an elaborate program of black capitalism. And while it failed to turn Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins or others in the moderate civil rights establishment into cabaret hosts, it did find a man with even better credentials as a militant — James Farmer, former national director of CORE. The President has indicated since assuming office that he sees nothing dangerous in the upsurge of a black militancy, provided that it seeks a traditional kind of economic mobility at its end, even if it wears Afro costumes and preaches a fiery race pride while it sets up businesses and replaces white capitalists as our society's most visible contact with the ghetto. Of course, other black militants, the thrust of whose political programs cannot be absorbed by black capitalism or by a mere cultural renaissance, who do not look to the ruling powers of society for assistance in their revolution, will continue to be denounced, imprisoned, hounded and destroyed. For them there is the method of the stick. But in other cases the use of the carrot is preferred as more potent — and less predictable, as Mr. Nixon has well demonstrated.

He has made a surprising alliance with certain forces of black militancy. This may seem audacious, even dangerous, like playing with the fires of a revolutionary black consciousness. But it is actually a time-tested technique. The Nixon Administration's encouragement of cultural nationalism and its paternal interest in black capitalism are little more than an splitting and transplanting into a domestic setting of a pattern established years ago by U.S. power abroad. Although the State Department, the CIA, Information Agency, the Ford Foundation and hosts of other organizations were involved, it was primarily the Central Intelligence Agency which discovered the way to deal with militant blackness. It found that the U.S. could maintain a foothold in the newly independent African states by creating and substituting an American elite of Afro-oriented black leaders (James Farmer himself was only one of many) whose positions in the civil rights movement were as inchoate, if often unconscious, cover for the Agency's primary aim — to co-opt black radicalism in Africa, and eventually at home.

[Dr. AMSAC's answer]

IT WAS THE SPRING OF 1961, and at first glance it looked like a revolutionary round table in Havana. The list of participants in the conference read like a Who's Who of the Southern African independence movement: Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Eduardo Mondlane (recently assassinated), leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front; Joice Kusimba, president of the Southwest African National Union; leaders from virtually every other political faction of these countries as well as Zimbabwe, Angola, and Zambia. They were all wanted men at home, engaged in directing armed struggles against hated colonial regimes. But the meeting hadn't been convened by Fidel Castro. In fact, it took place at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

The architect of a Southern Africa liberation movement had agreed to come to Washington because the convening organization was a black group meeting at the nation's leading black university. The American Society for African Culture (AMSA), composed of important black American scholars, writers, artists and professionals, was the most prestigious and articulate of all black groups interested in advancing African culture and building bonds between U.S. blacks and their African brothers. This conference was AMSAC's fourth international meeting in as many years. It looked like the beginning of a black revolutionary's dream-come-true, the linking up of African and Afro-American freedom struggles. But what most participants didn't know was that the whole affair had been sponsored by the CIA.

The Howard University meeting provided an ideal opportunity for the CIA to look over the top African revolutionaries while providing an illusion of U.S. concern for their cause. AMSAC itself had begun as a way of keeping an eye on the resurgent African independence movement. It was organized in the aftermath of the first International Conference of Negro Writers and Artists, held in Paris in late 1955. This conference had been convened by a group of African exiles and European intellectuals organized into the Société Africaine de Culture (SAC), which published the journal *Préface Africaine*, featuring men like Camus, Sartre, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire. But giving impetus to an organization like AMSAC was by no means SAC's agenda.

SAC had asked the late Richard Wright, the black American writer self-exiled in Paris, to invite some American Negroes to the international gathering. Wright did so, although many whom he invited were unable to afford the trip. Those who did show up were among the most influential of America's black bourgeoisie, and many later became influential in AMSAC. Headed by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, a leading black educator and father of Georgia legislator Julian Bond, the American delegation included Mercer Cook, who later received the ambassadorship to Niger during the Johnson Administration; John A. Davis, later to become head of AMSAC; James Ivy, editor of the NAACP magazine, Crisis, and eventually AMSAC treasurer; Thurgood Marshall, and Duke Ellington. These were AMSAC's founding fathers.

At the outset of its career, AMSAC shared its New York offices with the Council on Race and Caste in World Affairs, a largely paper organization founded some years earlier by the CIA, specializing in information about and analysis of racial problems affecting international relations. The council merged formally with AMSAC in 1957, and acted as the major financial conduit to the new group, which was not officially incorporated until February 1960. The CIA conduits reporting contributions to AMSAC over the years included the Puppet Charitable Trust (\$65,000), and these foundations: Marshall (\$25,000); Benjamin Rosenthal (\$25,000); J. Frederick Brown (\$103,000); Colt (\$47,000); C. H. Dodge (\$28,000); Rabb (\$40,000), and Rothkelly (\$20,000). AMSAC's statement of purpose declared an intention "to study the effects of African culture on American life; to examine the cultural contributions of African peoples to their societies; to appraise the conditions affecting the development of ethnic national and universal culture; to cooperate with international organizations with a view to... exchange of information on African culture...."

"I joined AMSAC because I thought it would be really pursuing the ideas advocated by the Société Africaine de Culture," Harold Cruse, author of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, told us, "but I was quickly turned off when they began to move in another political direction. It was composed of a combination of careerists, slick articulate operators with little conviction, and leaders of the integrationist Negro intellectual establishment. They were liberals without a base whose legitimacy came entirely from their association with established groups like AMSAC. I even doubt they were capable of thinking this kind of operation up themselves."

It will never be clear to what extent the "AMSA Afros," as Cruse called them, did think up the organization for themselves; but even if they did, they certainly didn't pay for it. That was taken care of by the CIA, which realized that AMSAC's brand of non-radical cultural nationalism could be useful abroad and perhaps eventually at home. The organization's 1962 conference report declared, "American Negroes do not hold important posts in the great corporations doing business in Africa. Nor can it be said that they seek to make or have been given the opportunity of making money in Africa. Mainly they bring service and love to the complex of Afro-American relations." This they indeed did, but often without knowing what and whose ends they were serving.

AMSA's cultural and educational programs—the frosting on the political cake the CIA was serving up to emerging Africa—involved some of America's most prominent black artists: Odetta, Randy Weston, Nina Simone, Lannie Hampton and Langston Hughes. The organization also sponsored visits

to Africa by American Negro scholars, writers, lawyers and intellectuals. AMSAC's representatives included scholar Saunders Redding, the man whom Harold Cruse describes as the chief of intellectual spokesmen for the American Negro establishment; artist Jacob Lawrence and Elton Fox, and former NAACP council Robert Carter. Men like these provided the cultural camouflage which not only disguised the political nature of AMSAC's work, but deepened its impact on Africans as well. But the careers of others, far less celebrated, tell more about the real AMSAC enterprise.

[Dr. BLACK CIA AGENT]

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING CASE STUDIES of AMSAC's use of its Afros centers on the man who was the organization's assistant executive director from its early days through 1961—a tall, frequently goateed, black CIA agent named James T. ("Ted") Harris.

Born in Philadelphia in 1924, Harris won a DAR medal for good scholarship at La Salle College. After service during the war, he returned to La Salle where he built a reputation as a concerned and outspoken liberal. Visible, articulate black colleagues were a rarity in those days, and Harris' reputation grew nationally when he became involved in student politics. In 1948, when the newly formed National Student Association elected him president, he quickly won admittance to the inner circle, the CIA's "old boy network" which came to dominate NSA activities for almost 20 years.

Early in the '50s, Harris moved to Geneva, where he served as assistant secretary general for the CIA-supported World University Service. From that post he returned to the U.S. for more training. After receiving a master's degree at Princeton's Public Affairs Institute, where he studied on a CIA Whitney scholarship, he was off to Cairo for field experience, this time on a Ford Foundation Research Fellowship. He returned to the NSA after his stint in Egypt, to run the important CIA-funded Foreign Student Leadership Program to "assist active student leaders in the Third World." Through this job, Harris came to know and befriend many African students in the U.S. His next assignment followed naturally. He moved on to AMSAC.

Harris was active in AMSAC through 1961. In that year, while the U.S. was desperately trying to stabilize a friendly national government in the Congo, Harris went back to the Ford Foundation, which made him secretary-general of a Ford-funded National School for Law and Administration in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). Harris spent two years there, shaping an educational program which, as he was later to tell AMSAC's Howard University conference on Southern Africa, provided a way to instruct the Congolese in Western administrative techniques. Congolese sources strongly suspected that the school also served as a conduit for CIA money which was pumped into the pockets of selected Congolese politicians. As soon as a dependable Congolese was groomed to take over the school, Harris returned to New York to help the Ford Foundation shape its overseas development program for Africa and the Middle East. In 1964, he left Ford to direct education and training for the Corning Glass Works in New York, working under Amory Houghton, the man who had headed the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA), the CIA's principal agency for funding its international student programs. In 1966, while remaining a consultant to Houghton, Harris moved on to join yet another CIA creation, the African-American Institute. At the AAI, he directed field programs, traveling frequently to Africa.

By January 1969, when Harris left AAI and international work, he had compiled an impressive record. He had traveled to all of Western Europe and to the Middle East, to India, Pakistan and 23 countries in northern, eastern, western and central Africa (as well as 49 states of the U.S.), often on speaking tours. His languages included Arabic, French, Italian and Spanish. He was a member of the powerful and prestigious Council on Foreign Relations and the NAACP, and a director of an offshoot of CORE, the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality.

The CIA backed AMSAC and supported people like Harris because its strategies had a sophisticated understanding of how a certain brand of African cultural nationalism could be dangerous to America's international objectives. They realized that cultural radicalism often stimulated political radicalism and that cultural issues, especially in the emerging African states, were often latent with explosive political implications. Maintaining an effective political presence in resurgent Africa thus required an active cultural dimension, and the CIA took an early interest in attempting to control the emerging cultural-political élites and, as much as possible, making sure that their concerns stayed at arm's length from revolution. The Agency saw cultural nationalism and new notions of "negritude" as alternatives to the type of revolutionary culture called for by such radicals as Frantz Fanon, who once said, "It is around the people's struggle that African Negro culture takes on substance and not around songs, poems, and folklore."

The architects of the CIA's covertly-backed cultural programs selectively encouraged those black writers most friendly to the West. Through its program of enlightened patronage, these writers found a ready outlet for their work in a whole series of cultural magazines in and about Africa, funded by CIA-backed foundations: Africa Report (African-American Institute); Transition and The New African (Congress of Cultural Freedom); Classic (Fairfield Foundation); and others. And finally, AMSAC had its own magazine, African Forum. The writers favored by these publications were not agents, but simply men whose politics were acceptable to the American culture brokers. And what Fanon later called "a gathered circle of mutual admiration at the summit" quickly emerged. Patronage

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and promotion won international recognition for the CIA's cultural elite while providing a cultural framework important to the directed development of African consciousness.

The CIA did not become the leading international interpreter of black culture for the aesthetic pleasure of the experience. The great question during the heyday of AMSAC and similar organizations was what formal African independence would actually mean once it became a reality. And at some point, the CIA decided that the development of a safe cultural nationalism was critically important to U.S.



Pork chop cultural nationalist murderous pigs Ron Everett (Karenga) and four henchmen. They plotted and murdered Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and John Huggins of the L.A. B.P.P. Chapter. These dogs (or piglets with a fascist U.S.A. Ideology of Black Pork Chopism) are in cahoots with the C.I.A. and is backed by white businessmen, bankers and other U.S. industrialists; these criminals of U.S. imperialism enslave, exploit and colonize colored peoples of the world, Africans, and black Americans with the help of Molae Tshombe, pupa does, black racist and black capitalist, such as the U.S. organization run by Ron 'Mama' Lama Ringo Karenga.

interests in Africa. It was essential not only as a way of keeping cultural energies in line, but primarily (though the two are intertwined) to channel the explosive force of nationalism itself in directions suitable to the U.S. The tide of decolonization rolling over the continent could open the way for a new American Empire to break the old imperial monopoly of the European order that had controlled Africa. Or it could produce the kind of radical nationalism which would guard the new Open Door with insatiable vigilance, and might even make accommodations with the communist powers. Thus the CIA made every effort to promote a kind of cultural nationalism in Africa which would be satisfied with the removal of the most obvious forms of foreign domination; one in which concern for cultural integrity did not reinforce, but rather replaced, demands for basic economic and political autonomy.

This was the scope of the enterprise in which American blacks became indispensably involved, through AMSAC and other vehicles. But to appreciate the effect of this misalliance on African development and to see what the alternative of cultural nationalism meant in its social and political context in Africa (and could mean in the United States if the Nixon Administration is successful), one must also view the operation from the receiving end. A particularly vivid example of America's ideological manipulation of African society in transition is seen in the role played by the CIA in shaping the nationalist movement in Kenya.

[IV. A CIA SET SET]

THE SAVAGERY OF PERIOD BLACK SAVAGERY that pervades white fantasies about Africa has been evoked most vividly by Kenya, scene of the bloodlust and carnage of the Mau Mau. This myth of the Mau Mau (as the Kenya Police and Land Army was known in the West) is the inverse of the reality. Throughout the entire Mau Mau "Emergency," fewer than 100 whites were killed—including 37 counterinsurgency police; among Africans the toll was greater than 11,000. Colonial security forces, like the American "scalp-hunters," hunted men for bounty. Tens of thousands of Africans were herded into British detention camps. In one roundup, 25,000 were arrested in a single day.

The Mau Mau myth and similar racist inventions still hold firm in the popular mind, but responsible agencies of the U.S. government cannot afford to hamper their own effectiveness with such ungratuitous views. That, in the decade preceding Kenyan independence and since that time, the CIA has provided carefully selective support to elements of the same independence movement which most Americans could think of only with revulsion and horror.

The United States may seem in any case to be an unlikely supporter of national liberation struggles in the Third World. But the fact is that U.S. policy has never stopped at sponsoring black militancy, whether of the Mau Mau or of CORE.

when it served the right purpose. As Vice President, Nixon reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee following his 1957 African tour: "American interests in the future are so great as to justify us in not hesitating even to assist the departure of the colonial powers from Africa. If we can win native opinion in this process the future of America in Africa will be assured." The trouble with old style colonialism in Africa, Nixon perceived, was that it was so un-American.

The CIA's program in Kenya could be summed up as one of selective liberation. The chief beneficiary was Tom Mboya,

the chief of the CIA's covert funding program. Speaking for the group, Lodge wrote: "The obscure trade unions of today may well be the president or prime minister of tomorrow. In many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, trade unions are almost the only organized force in direct contact with the people and they are frequently among the most important influences on the people." And in Mboya, he added, "has not only strengthened [ICFTU] but the whole cause of freedom and democracy in Africa."

The British were uncomfortably aware of what their "special ally" was doing in Kenya. In a British Cabinet Annex marked for "UK EYES ONLY," dated December 21, 1959, they complained: "The aim seems to be to take advantage of the difficult situation in which the United Kingdom and other European powers find themselves and to replace their influence and interests by direct U.S. machinery of the ICFTU and American contacts that have been built up with American leaders for this purpose." The document concluded that "Americans are not interested in the creation of genuine African trade unions as we know them. America has no Labour Party. . . . As a result, the American trade union leaders such as Meany, Reuther, and Dubinsky can afford directly and openly to execute governmental and particularly State Department and CIA policy."

The ICFTU often works through the mainly U.S.-based international union secretariats. In Africa, where unionization has been concentrated in government employment, the most important secretariat—and accordingly the main CIA instrument—has been the Public Service International (which was also instrumental in the overthrow of the Cheddi Jagan government in British Guiana). W. C. Lawrence, a PSI representative in East Africa, laconically expressed the organization's role in a February 13, 1962 letter to his superior, Paul Tolrahn: "It seems to me that it is up to us to see that they [East African unions] know what is right."

In 1963, just after Mboya left his post with the Kenya Federation of Labor, it looked as if the Federation might be losing sight of "what is right." Strikes threatened throughout the economy, and PSI feared some kind of class polarization of the society during the critical transition to independence, perhaps leading to the wrong kind of independence entirely. PSI records reveal how it stepped in. General Secretary Tolrahn sent a "Dear Tom" letter to Mboya on January 29, 1963, reading in part: "Perhaps the Government can do nothing else but say 'no' to their claims, but then the question arises how to say 'no' in a manner so convincing that the people concerned accept 'no' for an answer." He added that he was sending a special representative, T. Nyari, to Nairobi "to seek to avoid a strike," and he concluded with the comment that "this letter is written in order to urge you to drop him in the appropriate quarter."

Mboya's hunch were right on target, and on February 13, Nyari was able to report that the situation was in hand. "I was very lucky," he wrote, "getting the support of Brother Tom Mboya in my tries to avoid the strike."

IV. PEACE WITH FRIENDS

UPROBABLY MBOYA AND HIS Labor Federation was a natural strategy for the U.S. in Kenya during the '50s and early '60s. It advanced responsible nationalism; and it was painless, because the employers faced with higher wage demands were British, not American. By 1964, however, American investments, which would reach \$100 million by 1967, were becoming significant, and some of the Kenyan union demands began to lose their charm. But even more important, 1964 also brought dangers of "political instability" serious enough to make radio communications with the Nairobi Embassy eighth highest on the State Department roster for the year. Zanzibar revolted and Tanzania's Nyerere was nearly overthrown. Rebellion was spreading through the Northeast Congo, and Kenya lay astride the natural supply route. The CIA decided that a new approach was in order.

Mboya had long been supported as a force to the right of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, but an accommodation with Kenyatta was now seen as necessary, particularly to insure that he did not support the Congolese rebels, and more generally to get him to close ranks against the agitating Kenyan left. It was a strategy which has since become familiar enough; utilize the credibility of the appropriate feasible militants to crush the rest.

In June 1964, U.S. Ambassador to Kenya William Atwood met with Kenyatta and agreed that Western labor groups would stop subversive Mboya and the KFL; for balance, Kenyatta assured him that Russian and Chinese aid to the leftist leader, Vice President Odinga, would also end. Simultaneously, the CIA was making appropriate shifts in its operations, throwing its resources into a new kind of vehicle which would embrace the whole Kenyan political mainstream, while isolating the left and setting it up for destruction by Kenyatta. To this end the CIA chose as its focus an organization by the name of "Peace With Friends."

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FREE
ALL
POLITICAL
PRISONERS

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON TAKEN POLITICAL PRISONER

Once again the decadent power structure, has acted to destroy another who worked to see that power be placed in the hands of the people. It has tried to destroy Huey, Eldridge, and now Illinois Chapter Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. On Monday, May 26, Fred was sentenced to 2-5 years in Statesville Penitentiary by pig Judge Sidney Jones for alleged robbery of a Good Humor ice cream truck. He was convicted on April 7 for stealing 71¢ ice cream bars last summer. Bond was denied to Fred because as pig Jones said, "He advocates armed revolution."

Thus, a clear indication that Fred has been jailed, not for some "illegal act" (which he did not even commit), but because of his political beliefs. In court, the state and pig Jones working jointly, resorted to every kind of piggish tactic to see that Fred be taken off the streets as soon as possible. A hearing was held -- aggravation and mitigation -- where the state tried to show that Fred should be given 5-10 years in jail and the defense counsel tried to show that he be given the minimum sentence. Defense Attorney Fred Cohen asked pig Jones to stay the execution and give Fred bail pending appeal of the entire case. This was denied. Pig Jones' sentence varied only slightly from the one requested by the state. Cloaked in the black robe that surely smells of the mire that he lives in, pig Jones-Black puppet manipulated by the pig power puppeteers of Chicago -- has carried out this system's policy of "legal and sanctioned persecution. (Fascism) The state attorney's every effort was not to show that Fred was a thief (which is what they call'd him), but it was to show that Fred's political ideas are in direct opposition to his and all others who embrace injustice.

And what are Fred's political ideas and actions? What has he done that has made a "criminal"? If it is criminal to help initiate a



Breakfast for Children Program, then Fred is a criminal. If it is criminal to help open a free health clinic, provide heat in the winter for families who don't have it, and remove power from slumlords, then Fred is a criminal. If it is criminal to teach people verbally and through example how to rid themselves of the oppression which stifles them, then Fred is a criminal. Yes, he's a criminal, the kind of criminal that Malcolm, Huey, and Eldridge are -- the kind that says (as only he can say), "No matter what anybody says, I am a revolutionary." And every since he has made that statement, he has been harassed, arrested, beaten, shot at and now framed by pigs, proving that the only crime that Fred has committed has been his love for the people and his acts for their liberation. His political views have resulted in him being placed into a kind of hell that the pigs have tried to make into a permanent home for all who have moved to destroy this treacherous system. Fred is a political prisoner.

The next step that the defense counsel will take will be to challenge pig Jones' decision to hold Fred without bond. That step is only one small step, for we will exhaust all legal means and all other means to see that Fred be released.

To the pig juries, the demagogic politicians, and all who are responsible for Fred being incarcerated into a "sanctioned hell", you will suffer the consequences for your villainy. You may think that it is a joke, a wish, a dream, but we the people say that it will be a reality: Fred again will walk the streets with the people; he again will educate the people, Fred will help the people, Fred will be with us because he belongs with us. Deputy Chairman Fred has said: "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail revolution." We, the people, are saying: "Pigs, we refuse to let you jail either."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM.

COMING SOON

THE
BIOGRAPHY OF
**HUEY P.
NEWTON**

By Bobby Seale
and Those Who
Know Huey. With
an introduction by
Eldridge Cleaver.



THE CHICAGO ICE CREAM FRAMEUP

The masses of working people are being repressed throughout unjust war. The pig (racist) monopoly-class are trying to turn an unarmed people into counter-revolutionary war. They are waging against them. They realize a class struggle, the armed struggle will destroy their resistance, and their fear of the socialist revolution is mounting everyday.

The counter-revolutionary war is being waged by these reactionaries to being opposed by the people's army, the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party is set-

and training the only friends the masses have. We have put our faith in the masses and they will respond to our call.

Deputy Chairman, Fred Hampton, of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party was sentenced 2 to 2 years in prison. The Black Panther Party sees this as another attempt to destroy the people's army. He was tried for robbery in Maywood, Ill., July 10, 1969. The "pig" state attorney claimed that he robbed "TLC" ice cream bars from an ice cream truck.

The state had no evidence that Chairman Fred committed the crime or that he was even on the scene. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced for his political views.

"I am a revolutionary."

Chairman Fred helped the masses to find who were their real friends. He told them, in order to determine who our friends are, we must make a class analysis. He said, the same analysis could be used to determine who our real enemies are. The Chairman's interests were the same as the people's interests. He said, in it that the people were not fed satay by their enemies.

"The people must be made to understand that without a people's army, the people have nothing." Chairman Fred often explained.

The Black Panther Party is laying down the foundation for a socialist government, a people's government. Chairman Fred was working night and day to help, he

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON



THE AMERICAN WAY OF JUSTICE???

On Friday, May 16th at 10:30 a.m., members and friends of the Jersey City Chapter of the Black Panther Party appeared in Newark Municipal Court before the Hitler-Racist Judge James Del Mauro.

While awaiting to hear the verdict and ransom to be imposed upon Bro. Ralph (Bashford) Cobb, we had the opportunity to watch PIG JUSTICE in operation. The entire court as usual was filled with poor oppressed Black, Brown, and White people, with the Blacks being in the majority and receiving the harshest sentences and highest ransoms. Of all the cases we sat and watched appear before pig Judge Del Mauro only 3 received suspended sentences, two victims were white and the other a black youth accused of taking \$1.20 worth of merchandise. All others felt the whip. In many cases even those who sat in the courtroom let out sighs of surprise as they watched the many innocent victims being ransomed through "due process (PIG INJUSTICE) of the law".

At about 12:30 p.m., Bro. Ralph (Bashford) Cobb appeared before the disreputable racist judge Del Mauro. (Bro. Cobb was still wearing the same clothing that the pigs had kidnapped him in, because each time his family attempted to bring him clothes he had been moved to a different jail). The Star Liar took the stand and oath of hypocrisy... during the entire questioning his eyes were held down. All Party members and friends were shocked when we first saw the accuser. He appeared to be a cross-breed of "Stepping Master", "Uncle DeMoss" and "Mochester".... Yes he was a negro, of the house bigger breed... He was a plain ordinary janitor, who appeared undignified as most working class people are... yet... this fool sat there and pointed the finger of an innocent man.

As he was questioned the contradictions in this buster's story were extremely high. (1) the incident occurred Friday morning, May 10th, he went to the pig pen the same day and filed a complaint, yet he did not make a statement until Monday morning May 12th (2) during the entire time he rode the 2 men around, the one who sat the front seat with a shot gun and the lying nigger identified as Bro. Cobb, he only looked at approximately 3 times. (3) the 2 men identified themselves as belonging to the Black Brothers and/or Black Panthers, and (4) the only thing the 2 men wanted who he said kidnapped him, was the telephone number and address of the rabbi, which anyone with an ounce of sense knows you should look for in the telephone

book. Disreputable judge Del Mauro sat and listened to all this bulls--- and imposed ransom on Bro. Cobb at \$5,000.

All of us present in pig court noticed while watching this racial corrupt appendage of injustice in session was (1) pig Judge Del Mauro's total disregard for the rights of the oppressed people who appeared for the most part without lawyers. Their right to attorney was not explained to them; and (2) the big prosecutor's attempt to deny Bro. Cobb's attorney the right to see and challenge the statements of the crazy, bucky bigger accuser, by some stupid statement about the prosecutor would agree to allow Bro. Cobb's attorney to see the statement only if he could see my statement that Brother Cobb's attorney might have... All their own actions once more the pigs within the racial, capitalist, judicial system have shown that this is a "GOVERNMENT OF THE PIGS, BY THE PIGS, AND FOR THE PIGS".

The Jersey City and Newark pig departments, know that Ralph Cobb is innocent, especially the 2 Hobbes Twins, who have been our constant undermine shadow for the past 3 or 4 months. Their reason for rapping on him is (1) to suppress members of the Black Panther Party and to destroy the Party, and (2) racist exploiter Tom Wheeler had to insure his receiving a victory at the polls, so as usual he used racist tactics and fear to manipulate the people. But this failed because "the will of the people is stronger than the pigs technology"... so no first ballot victory.

The Jersey City press as usual only exposed one side of the story and it was misquoted... so on Wednesday, May 14th, a press conference was to be held at the Black Panther Office, the press invited and only one reporter showed, a representative of the "Newark News". Neither the Jersey Journal nor Hudson Dispatch felt the people were entitled to hear both sides of the story and form their own opinion as to who was telling the truth.

We call upon the people of the community to come out in support of Bro. Cobb. All those who saw Bro. Cobb anytime Friday morning May 10th, come or call the Black Panther office. Acknowledge this to a member of the Party and prove that the will of the people is greater than the pigs trickery.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Jersey City Chapter
Black Panther Party

ring down by example the strategic means for resisting his double revolutionary war. We have taken up the tremendous task to educate the masses. We have put our faith in the masses, we rely on them, they in turn, rely on us. We serve them wholeheartedly, satisfy their needs; as a result, they put their faith in the Party.

The masses are beginning to see the contradictions between their interests and the monopoly capitalists. They are beginning to realize that an attack on the people's army is an attack on them. The "Mao-Daley clique is waging an undeclared war against the people's army. They are murdering, killing, framing, and robbing the people's army. They are murdering, killing

him was sentenced because he was Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Black Panther Party for Illinois, in this the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Chairman Fred has always put his faith in the masses, he comes off the mountain top, down to the valley where the masses were in order to educate them and help them in their struggle against vicious repression.

He was amongst the masses everyday, trying to make them understand politics and political power. The masses said they were hungry, Chairman Fred answered with the only solution, Food! There is a need for medical help, so Chairman Fred began to initiate a free medical clinic, why? If you asked him why, he would respond, because

gave all his energies to destroy the pigs whose only "name is fame" was oppression of the people.

Fred Hampton is in jail but the Black Panther Party will continue his work and progressive programs. The Black Panther Party will draw bold these pigs back that, "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution". We will be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount this attempt to stop the people's arms and strive to forge close links with the masses.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
SUPPORT THE PARTY, STOP THE PIGS

Illinois Chapter, Illinois Chapter

DENVER PANTHERS DETERMINED: COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS



Lauren Watson

The Black Panther Party is not shocked, dismayed or set back by the outcome of the racist school board elections which served to reveal the true attitude and racism that is rampant in every federal and state institution in the U. S. The Black Panther Party will go forth

with its program to de-centralize the school system and to institute community control in our area. We will wrest the power from the hands of the school board and the racist administration, and return it to the hands of the people. We are a party of the people, by the people, and for the people. What the people feel, we feel. What hurts the people, hurts us. We are intelligent enough to realize what Black people want in freedom and the power to determine their own destiny. And Black people can never realize this freedom and power by attempting to integrate themselves into a decadent capitalist and racist system. Since the start of the school integration plan and cross-taughting, Black students at every age level have been subjected to every kind of inhuman treatment by racist teachers, principals and school administrators. They've been dragged off illegally and beaten the will of the people. We will educate the people to the fact that as long as the black community leaves the education of their children in the hands of avaricious capitalist, bureaucrats, that they will be reduced to the same sub-

human standards as presently exist in the white communities and the nation. Further they would continue to be taught self-hatred which causes them to be active participants in their own extermination and the extermination of all Black people that is presently in practice by this racist capitalist government and its allies.

We intend to survive America by any means necessary and we intend to educate Black children to survive by the same means. We will defend our community and our children and put into practice an educational system based upon political, economical and social survival.

The B. P. program of the Black Panther Party is designed to meet the basic needs of Black students everywhere and must be implemented in all schools in our community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE GUARD
Denver Chapter
Black Panther Party



ERICA HUGGINS



WARREN KIMBRO



PEGGY HUDGINS



GEORGE EDWARDS



FRANCIS CARTER



JEANNIE WILSON



MAUDE FRANCIS



ROSE SMITH

FASCIST FEDERAL, STATE & LOCAL PIGS CONSPIRE TO DESTROY NEW HAVEN LEADERSHIP

The New Haven Pig Force combined with state, F.B.I. and County Pigs, illegally vamped on the Black Panther Office at 1:05 Thursday morning.

Wearing bulletproof vests carrying riot shotguns and using gestapo tactics, they broke the front window to the office to gain entry to the upstairs apartment where women and children were asleep. The pig department totally ransacked the downstairs office and the above apartment, confiscating money that was to be used for the childrens free breakfast, posters, papers, rifles, furniture, clothing, food and office equipment.

Arrested for a trumped up charge of murder and conspiracy to commit murder were Warren and Sylvia Kimbro, Erica Huggins, George Edwards, Rose Smith, Jeannie Wilson, Maude Francis, Francis Carter and Peggy Hudgins. Sylvia Kimbro was later released on a one

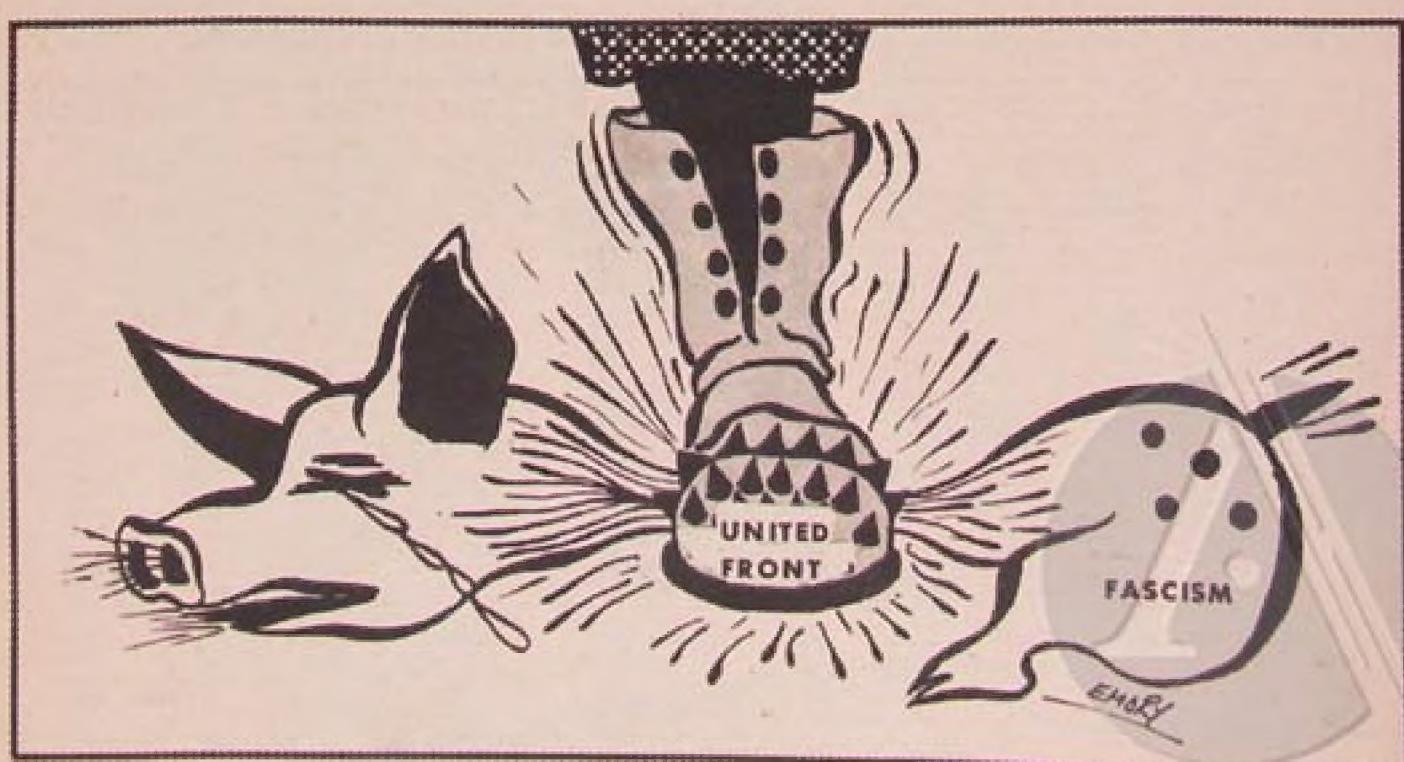
hundred dollar bond and her charges were reduced to breach of peace because she was not a member of the party. From what Sylvia told me from the questions they asked her, they are trying to connect this with the alleged conspiracy of the twenty one Black Panthers in New York and that they are trying to connect Chairmen Bobby Seale in with this alleged lie on the New Haven Black Panthers.

The enclosed news clippings will give you further information and I'll send in reports as news develops.

All The Power To The People
Black Power To Black People
Panther Power To The Vanguard

Theodore Spurlock
29 Dickerman St.
New Haven, Conn. 06511

FREE
THE
CONN.
EIGHT





NEW YORK YOUTH ORGANIZATION DEMONSTRATES AGAINST FASCISM

FREE THE NEW YORK PANTHER 21

The arrest of 21 members of the New York Chapter of the Black Panther Party for "conspiracy" signals a growing government repression of the movement in this country. All of us in all segments of the movement must recognize the consequent necessity of working together and supporting one another. The more the left is fragmented, the more easily these fragments can be isolated and destroyed.

On April 3rd, the 21 Panther members were arrested and charged with conspiring to blow up a number of department stores, 15,000 tulips in the Bronx, natural Gardens, and a police station, as well as possession of dangerous weapons and explosives. The arrests were conducted in the early morning hours by squads of armed policemen. The emotional stress of the arrests caused the premature birth of the child of Curtis and Leon Powell (Powell was one of the 21 arrested). The child lived three days. This event was not considered news fit to print by the media.

The absurd nature of the charges against the 21 clearly indicate the intent of the arrests: to destroy the Panther Party and create a lynch-mob atmosphere in order to discredit the Panthers in the community. By their efforts to create a revolutionary movement in the black community and to turn the black struggle into a struggle against capitalism as well as racism, the Panthers represent a significant danger to the establishment. To charge the Panthers with conspiracy to blow up department stores -- an act which would only hurt working people, not the power structure -- can only be seen as an attempt to destroy the Panthers; as

D.A. Negan said, "we have made significant gains in the Panther leadership".

These latest arrests are an escalation of a continuous pattern of arrests and harassment of the Black Panther Party. In the past few months no criminal charges have been brought against New York Panthers, **NO CONVICTIONS HAVE BEEN OBTAINED**. The pattern followed in each case has been the setting of exorbitantly high bail followed by a number of prosecutorial repeated postponements (which served to keep the accused in jail and away from the people) and eventual dismissal of charges.

The 21 are being held in \$100,000 bail each, a grand total of 2.1 million dollars. The movement has not yet been able to raise this sum, and petitions to reduce bail have been denied. The 21 are still in detention and are being held in various Houses of Detention in all five boroughs of New York City. Thus it is extremely difficult for their attorneys to confer with them and of course impossible to confer with them all at one time. The high bail-ransom coupled with the obstacles being placed in the way of defense attorneys William Kunstler and Jerry LeFcourt to defend the 21 by due process and exercise preventative detention. It must be borne in mind that the Panthers are in prison and thus in danger.

DESTRUCTION OF THE PRESS

The morning edition of the New York Daily News following the bust carried the headline **MASS PANTHER BOMB PLOT**. Subsequent articles in New York listed the Panthers to funds from Cuba and China. PFP staff members found that the only information interesting the Times was whether PFP financed the Panthers. On

April 7th a bomb exploded in Goldblatt Brothers Department store in Chicago. A New York Times story prominently headlined the bombing as possible Panther work and compared the explosives to those supposedly found by the police arresting the 21. A week later, a 45 year old white marine veteran surrendered to police after a shootout in which two policemen were killed and confined to the Goldblatt bombing. This admission was given nowhere near the predominant coverage the original accusations against the Panthers for this incident had received.

During the course of various court hearings Defense Attorney Kunstler has made a number of statements critically important to movement activists. His statements have either gone unreported by the non movement media, or been distorted or reported out of context. Attorney Kunstler has compared the frame-up of his clients to the fascinating frame-ups perpetrated by the Nazis in the late thirties, and has refused to delete from affidavits statements made by the 21 that they are victims of a police conspiracy. For the statements he has made and his refusal to delete his clients' statements, Kunstler has been threatened with contempt of court charges by trial judge Marks.

Liberation News Service has accused the media of careful and conscious deception regarding the policies and program of the Black Panther Party. "There are no reports through the bourgeois press that the Panthers have said, 'we want land, bytest, housing, education, justice, and peace', that the Panthers have a non-polar political program, that they are working for

implementation of that program, that they are establishing free breakfast programs for school children, that they do this so that people may see a concrete act of socialism." Media ignoring and distortion of news denies people the information needed to understand the events occurring around them, understanding vital to the furtherance of movement goals.

THE MOVEMENT RESPONSE

All radical groups realize the necessity of showing solidarity with the Panthers. Demonstrations took place outside of the Criminal Courts Building during arraignments and bail hearings for the Panthers. These street actions did point out the anger felt by the radical movement at this latest act of repression, but they also illustrated some of the more crucial differences between white and black movements. To go into the streets, marching in a circle behind police barricades, separated from (and protected from?) the people watching, chanting "Free the Panthers 21" and "Off the Pig" and conducting a rally consisting mainly of cathartic slogan shouting is to go into the Mass's streets in the Mass's terms. Had they wanted to, the police when we were braved called "pig" could have exterminated us.

Street actions do have a purpose and are at various points necessary and worthwhile. The purpose of street action in this case was to demonstrate solidarity and to educate people. True -- we showed our support for the Panthers, but we also pointed out the sort of demonstrations the City of New York will allow. Those conducted behind barricades and under police surveillance. We must also see ourselves how we appeared in the

eyes of our Panther brothers shouting "Off the Pig" from the relative safety of our white skins, middle class status and protecting police barricades and lines.

Far more important than appearance, though, is effectiveness. At this point Peace and Freedom and the white radical movement in general can assist the Panthers in two concrete ways: raising ransom and mounting our own propaganda campaign against the deceptions and distortions of the media. The Panthers are correctly attempting to raise bail for the 21. As long as they are in prison their very lives as well as their freedom are threatened. The movement is not in a position at this time to free them by any means other than paying ransom -- we must raise that ransom and also be willing to accept the possibility of forfeiting that bail money.

In a propaganda campaign we must expose the true nature of the law as an instrument of repression, counter the distortion and deception of the media, and prepare others for the possibility of further repression. Rather than hold charity rallies after each demonstration at the Criminal Courts Building, emphasis should be placed on lecturing and on speakers telling the people what was going on in the Criminal Courts Building. More militant people demonstrating, police in the line and passersby should have heard something more than shouts of "Free the Pig".

Fred Belair, NYC PFP
BAIL MONEY NEEDED FOR THE PANTHER 21: send to
 Black Panther Party
 Box 1234
 Brooklyn, N. Y. 11202



**BLOOD TO THE HORSES BROW
AND WOE
TO THOSE WHO CANNOT SWIM**



NEW YORK PANTHERS AT COURT HOUSE TO SUPPORT 21

**FREE THE
N.Y. 21
BAIL MONEY
NEEDED**

**SEND TO
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 1224
BROOKLYN 11202
NEW YORK**

LETTERS FROM JAIL

I am writing this note in hopes that it will inspire at least one of those paper Panthers to get out into the community and do the work of the people.

During my incarceration, I have found that there is a great need for the sisters and brothers to know the true meaning of "Power To The People". Very few of our young brothers and sisters have ever read the ten point program. They are unfamiliar with the Party's purpose. We are locked up as an all black gang dedicated to destruction. When the brothers in Oakland sat down and put the ten points together that is not what they had in mind. We must educate the community to the correct purpose of the Black Panther Party.

The Party is dedicated to seeing that the needs of the people are met. We will do whatever the people deem necessary to attain these basic needs. We will go to jail, we will be murdered, we will be

prosecuted and most of all we will live for the people. We are responsible always to the people. Every action must be understood by the masses. I no longer have any wants, for my desires are my people's. I have no time, because my time belongs to the people. You see, everything belongs to the people. If you find it hard to put into practice, then you have to place in the Vanguard. Everyone is not expected to be able to carry the load (for it is without a doubt a heavy load - but then the rewards are great). The load must be carried, whether you do it or not. You must review the three choices you have!

I love my people and because of this love the seventy years that I am facing seems a small price to pay. Land, bread, education, housing, clothing, justice and peace these are my goals.
Solidarity in the Struggle,
Abdul Q. Shabazz



**SISTER DELORES PATTERSON BUSTED WITH 21
WORKED WITH THE BREAKFAST PROGRAM**



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY COMES FORTH TO COMBAT
THE RAGING TIDE OF FASCISM



NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE

FOR A

UNITED FRONT

AGAINST

FASCISM

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA
JULY 18, 19, 20, and 21 st.



FASCISM THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL ITSELF

THIS REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IS CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL, PROLETARIAN TYPE ORGANIZATIONS, THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL WORK OF ALL STUDENTS, FARMER PEASANTS, WORKERS, AND THE LUMPS MUST BE DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL FORCE, A FRONT WHICH HAS A COMMON REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PROGRAM WHICH ANSWERS THE BASIC DESIRES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE IN FASCIST, CAPITALISTIC, RACIST AMERICA. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE TO END FASCISM.

IN OAKLAND CALIFORNIA, JULY 18, 19, 20 & 21st REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, SOME 5,000 OR MORE REPRESENTATIVES WILL DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. HEADQUARTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICE, 100 SHATTUCK AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, 445-0030 OR 445-0044.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

INTERVIEW WITH CHA CHA JIMENEZ CHAIRMAN --- YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION

1971: The 1971 World Trade Conference, Geneva, Switzerland

John: In 1929 the Young Lords took a stand, a strong stand on the side of the poor. In the years of inflation, it had been the probably being more of an economic recession because it was for example a white area and the Young Lords were Puerto Rican. Later on, more and more Puerto Ricans came into the area, as more and more of the racial slums spread out into the northern suburbs. This was closer to the white areas because it was a

which had become a social issue, they had given their last gift of \$1000.00 to the Young Lords and Ti-Ashira. They had planned, they had chosen for the families and schools that, surely they were changing one at a time, but that was not possible. In the community. After a period of time of giving money to the people in the community, and getting donations of food and clothing, the Young Lords tried to focus in more with the Family of their environment. So when not together to Red and what was the best program, here would they help these people best. This was the main reason why the Young Lords Organization turned politically, because they figured out that just giving gifts wasn't going to help their people, they had to deal with the systems that who was passing over people.

AM: That's true. I see that there are more or different reasons that people are involved with different political groups such as the Black Panthers, which is a very militant organization and they have a political line and a political platform and program which they follow. What inspired you to align yourselves with the Black Panthers?

Chair: Well you see, we would think the day that way in which we can help our people, how we're starting to realize what our people really are, how our thoughts are and who our enemies are. And as we read and studied other organizations that are appearing over in the United States, we see and we recognize the Black Panther Party as a vanguard party, aanguard revolutionary party. And we feel that as revolutionaries we should follow the vanguard party, this is why we follow them.

old Chau-chu, I've lived in the forest and it's hard to distinguish them, where you find a member of your organization, he will be shot down by agents of the Chicago police, and in working in a political way as the Black Panthers do and showing Mayor Daley and the city officials or the power structure of Chicago to be, as they've demonstrated in the past, are you prepared and willing to deal with their accusations or whatever they say?

CHA CHA OF KIDS

had been arrested on a charge of aggravated kidnapping, the old saying of my own state they claimed, but I was released right away when they found out. The reason I say you, Rev. Thompson, Deputy Chairman of the Wildlife Chapter of the Inter-American Society and regard it as your duty to make the message when the Indians start getting rid of the birds, at least not today, to be considerate and extremely

and, as I am going now to receive justification
and, I have run down and I am going to be
as far as I can with any questions
dealing with a great percentage
trying to get into the organization or
of coming into the organization or
of creating situations that might have
changes brought against you in the
P. B. I. or the C. I. A. etc.
CIA-Dia: Just the other day we
had a report at the pig station because of the other Man, who
demanded the arrest of pig James
Lynn and a group calling themselves the
revolutionaries came and there were some negotiations
and we passed through Coffeyville
hunting country which is mostly
a black populated area and we felt
that the blacks were not brothers
and we chased them to Coffeyville.
We thought that they would join
us, and they did. They joined us
except for their provocations. I
would say that they were CIA
or FBI, but I do say what they
told us after the demonstration.
They told us that the pigs were

Right with them, that we were trying to take over their park, you know, treating us like a pig. Again and we talked to them. A couple of days later we took over the park and the park was ours. They took things we had in there and we would pay them the fees we were entitled to pay them to attack us.

political organizations and many people have been arrested. The-Chair: How many people, I ask. It's hard to count. About five or six thousand (average) get arrested. It's to be noted that all the Lords, some of the relatives that come in to the meetings, themselves and others at the meetings, whether he respects them or not. And the other day a brother was arrested. Green, because they have the open and this law is already violated which has been passed by Congress. They want to do this persecuted them and all of a sudden. He comes out with a bag of dynamite which he never even had in his pocket, he could not tell me. This is some of the charges that we get charged with. We get charged for picketing and then they say something about blocking the streets, you know, the blocking of anything, or just actually obstructing another or resisting arrest. Then the disorderly conduct to assault a law officer, resisting arrest is \$5000.

CHUA CHUA AND YOUNG LORDS WITH THE H.L., DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE OF THE

G.P.O. STATIONERY RUSHI

Why do you think you say that the people are becoming less concerned or they do not recognise that the environment is one of a great struggle?

...that's what our organization put by the leaders, just by the masses, just by being Marxist. Then, you just have to understand it's a mass struggle, because we have high skilled people just repeat, like very little, we have dark-skinned people, we have red, we have yellow, we have all kinds of people, a rainbow of people, and understand why we can easily understand it's a common sense in us that this is a **PEAS** struggle, I don't relate to black people talking with people and white people having black people and the white people getting taken by methods, just like, and people can't relate to that, you know, we have to see which is our struggle, which is our organized struggle and we just see that the pigs are the bodyguards of the capitalist pigs that are representing and奴役ing our people. We have to see that the **US** occupies, the United States have been taking all the resources from Puerto Rico and we see what our enemy is. We see that the United States is our enemy, and we just eat for Hitler, you know, we look at Cuba, we look at Iran, we look at all these other countries that have liberated themselves from the masters.

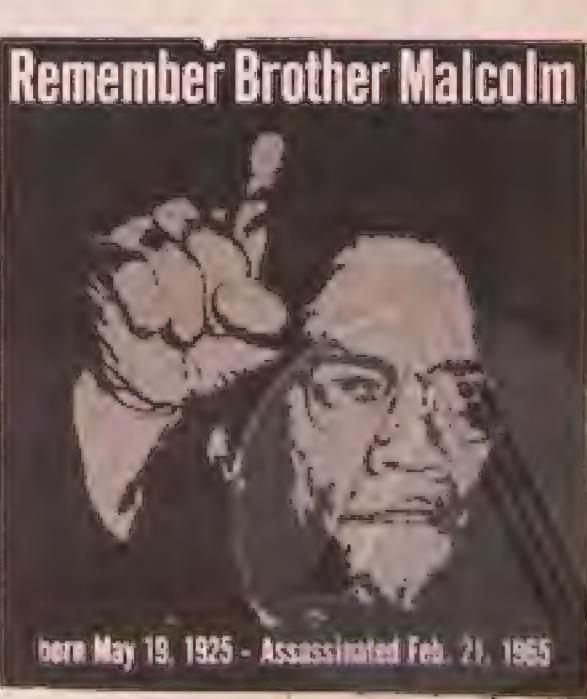
CHA CHA JIMENEZ ACCUSED OF KIDNAPPING OWN CHILD

May 22-Lant. This was the straight press and electronic media played up the arrest of Chu Chu Shih-tien, Chairman of the Young Lords Organization, Inc., Minneapolis - without mentioning that the person he was charged with kidnapping was his own 14 month old daughter, Jacqueline. Fred and Lee Belmont Foster will be the only two people to write the true story of this unusual case of parentage, harassment.

— Monday night, May 10, 1926, Mary Warren walked into the 102nd Precinct to file a report of a theft that her daughter Mary Lee had suffered from a man who had been staying at the station on the 102nd Precinct. She said that her son, John, had informed her that her son's wife, MARY LOU, had been staying at the station on the 102nd Precinct, and that she had been staying at the station on the 102nd Precinct. She said that her son, John, had informed her that her son's wife, MARY LOU, had been staying at the station on the 102nd Precinct, and that she had been staying at the station on the 102nd Precinct.

2000 and his wife 4-5. During the morning, when he awoke from the 14.25 hr nap during the 16 hr period, he was unable to get out of bed and sat at 100.00 (14.25 hr peak blood) and a blood test showed 1000 mg. per 100 ml. blood.

At the trial, it was brought out that the man who had kidnapped the children, was in fact his wife, Mary Ross, who had gone to New Mexico and taken her son with her. The boy was born at the home of Harry and Gladys Glavin, parents of the woman who planned to kidnap the boy's father, and that the two were unable to agree on the name of the child, so they called him the "lost child". The child was born in the Glavin home, and, in building a new home, the Glavins became the parents of a son, and the new child was given the name of "the lost child".



(born May 19, 1925 - deceased October 7, 2014)



1965

1969

INTERVIEW WITH BOB RUSH

Former member of a faction of the Black Panther Party, later an organizer for the Black Community Party, now a member of the Black Panther Party. This interview is conducted with the legacy holder of Defense for the Unfree, a Black Panther Party newspaper, and the Black Panther Party member who was the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, but had prior communist tendencies with the former structure of BPP in particular the Chicago area.

Today's Anger, and one of the most famous or most spoken of the former leaders of the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton has been succeeded on some charges at the past, but a government informant, Constance, a former member of that

group, has just been released from prison, and he has now joined the Black Panther Party.

He has been in prison for 10 years, and he has been serving time in Illinois, and serving time in the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton has been succeeded on some charges at the past, but a government informant, Constance, a former member of that

group, has just been released from prison, and he has now joined the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton has been succeeded on some charges at the past, but a government informant, Constance, a former member of that

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FASCIST PIGS RUINED \$300.00 WORTH OF FREE BREAKFAST FOOD



HARLEM FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

On May 10, the leadership of Atlanta K, the Black Panther Party, President, Imperial Council, 141 W. 11th St., and the Harlem Community opened the first Free Breakfast for School Children in New York.

In the current issue of the Black Panther Party newspaper, an editorial statement by Huey P. Newton "It is the wisdom, the strength, and the love of humanity that was Malcolm, that was the overwhelming force in the beginning of the Black Panther Party." It is not of this wisdom, this strength and this love of humanity personified in Harry H. Belafonte, our Minister of Defense, that the idea of a Free Breakfast for School Children came. Every morning in America and many countries around the world, a full, hot breakfast is being served to school children absolutely free of charge. Food and money are being wasted in countries from Great Britain, Switzerland, large countries and little nations. Also, many members of the Har-

lem community have stopped their services in preparing and serving the food. Friendship Chapter 100 is only the first of many chapters whose facilities will be used to feed the hungry children.

The Black Panther Party is here to serve the people by putting this socialist program into practice. The Harlem community has many hungry children in its ranks. Big business and the capitalist government refuse to feed the hungry people of this nation. The revolution has sprung this profit out of the community everyday, while the people of the community starve. Malcolm says: "You can't operate a revolution on an empty stomach, you have to have some \$400.00 blood in each to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a blood sucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist." The Rockefellers, Lindsay and the Board of Education are not interested in feeding

the hungry children of our community. Consequently, the community and the Black Panther Party have organized the Free Breakfast for School Children Program (FBF) everyday morning.

In this way, the Black Panther Party will continue to work to meet the demands of the people.

Contributions may be sent to: New York City
P.O. Box 1224
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202
or to: Panther Children
Black Panther Party
National Branch
2000 West 187th Avenue
New York, New York
104 104

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER 114

Contributed by: A. B. JONES
PANTHER 114

and. The community Black community must come forth and meet the harsh and severe of the hungry children. We must remember that the government made the revolution. The pig who sits in Atlanta's Mayor's chair is not doing a damn thing.

The pig who sits in Atlanta's chair is doing a lot of shit by trying to run the U.S. The pig who sits in Atlanta's chair is not feeding hungry children under capitalism. The people in the community is doing this. The people in the community is the government. The people who sit in Atlanta's chair are not doing a damn thing. They will tell the people to be satisfied that they thought you had a plan. The Minister of Justice of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton is in the pig pen now for defending the poor. The old who sit in the pig pen, was used to say all Black political prisoners are in the pig pen. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. *Albert Roseman*

FASCIST MEAT COMPANIES REFUSE FOOD TO HUNGRY CHILDREN

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The Harlem Community and the Black Panther Party are working to feed the hungry children of Harlem every morning a P.M., hot breakfast is served to the children between school at Roosevelt Hospital Children, 144 West 121 Street. The food is supplied by the merchants in the Harlem community. These are the same merchants business men who exploit the Black community and Black workers daily and take huge profits out of the community.

Some of the merchants have been very cooperative and have agreed to return some of these profits in the form of food for the hungry children of Harlem. General Meats Corp., Big Boy, and the Big Boy Diner have agreed to donate food regularly. But the racist, exploitative Alpine Beef Co., and the

racist, exploitative A. Palmer and Sons have REFUSED to feed the children. The "Boss" of Alpine refused and wrote the pig on May 10. He claimed about 500 children in the community are served by Big Boy. He claimed about feeding \$10,000.00 a day in the pig pen to them in the pig pen. "Under what A. Palmer claimed bad and clear "Do not feed with the children."

The Black Panther Party calls on all employees of Alpine Beef Co. and A. Palmer and Sons to demand that at least one penny on every dollar of profit be donated to the Free Breakfast for School Children Program. The people of the Black community demand that Black children will no longer go hungry.

James Clegg



HARLEM YOUTH FULL AND READY TO LEARN

THE BUST OF THE 21 WAS TO STOP THE FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM ALSO

In Boston, one of the most exploited communities of the U.S., people \$12.00 to \$15.00 to buy their Free Breakfast is served to school children \$1.00 each morning. The brothers and sisters here have been reported to such an extent that when visiting and visiting the community, we can often say, "How much does it cost?" before taking one.

The Boston community has been treated over and over again. They had to fight to believe that the Black Panther Party is here to serve the people just like to serve the interests of a capitalist. Looking at the faces of the children each morning, you can see that the members of Boston Field 12, may would always be there. These are not enough pigs in this great world to stop the Black Panther Party from serving the masses like we do. It is these young Black children that we feed them because that does not never benefit anyone. It is these young Black children that

will benefit the needs of the community we are fighting, it is they who still benefit the capitalist system. This is not the case in our other oppressed communities, but Boston has more hospitals and schools per square mile than other Black communities across the U.S. New York, is the金融 capital of the world the capitalist capital. The people of Boston, as in other oppressed communities, like the Black Panther Party in the ability to not see precisely what it says. The Black Panther Party says that it is about creating world wide education, and we neglect to put that into practice. And the pigs, in a last desperate effort to save themselves, will stop this by any means necessary. The threat of the Black Panthers in New York was enough to stop this. The pigs had to attack the most dangerous community, the most dangerous Black community in their attempt to stop the Black Panther Party.

On April 2, many of the journeys

who were putting most of their energies into starting the Free Breakfast for Children were arrested. M. P. Miller, during that time of serving the people, was accused of a drug conspiracy to harm the masses of people, in Boston. On April 11, 1971, the Minister of Justice K, the Harlem Branch of the Black Panther Party opened up its Free Breakfast for Children in New York. Field 12, New York says "It is unconstitutional to say the Panthers concern of the people, who are participating in the Free Breakfast Program in the Black community when the big power structure has refused to implement for 400 years." Black people are through the lies of the big power structure, keep up the Free Breakfast for Children, and all over the country Black people for the Black Panther Party to implement.

James Clegg

FREE HUEY FREE THE NEW YORK PANTHER 21 FREE THE CONN. PANTHER LEADERSHIP

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge."

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court v.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sirwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concept of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

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I can volunteer some time to help the Committee _____

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Robert Scheer, Director

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THE BLACK PANTHER



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THE BLACK PANTHER

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbiage by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal field aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapon correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel when expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF
ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF
DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

*To Break The Bonds Of Fascism
We Must Develop A United Front*

